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INVESTIGATION OF
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES AND
PROPAGANDA

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

PURSUANT TO

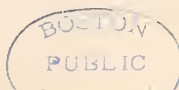
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INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Un-American Activities was made a standing committee of the House of Representatives at the beginning of the Seventy-ninth Congress. It is the successor to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House, which was created in May 1938. This report deals only with some of the committee's investigations as a standing committee.

During the last two decades, our American Republic has been challenged by two sets of forces. These forces may be generally characterized as the "totalitarian right" and the "totalitarian left." The ideology of nazism and fascism as exemplified by the recent Governments of Germany and Italy comprised the base of the "totalitarian right." The program of world conquest as patterned by this ideology was incompatible with the democratic precepts of the American Republic. World War II culminated in the military destruction of this threat from the right. Prior to and during the war, the "agents," "bunds," and "fronts" of these forces that were conspiring here at home in furtherance of the Nazi and Fascist schemes were exposed and broken up. Nevertheless, the individuals who comprised them, in the most part, remain in our midst—a potential core for a similar threat in the future.

The "totalitarian left"—communism—stems from the Communist ideology of Karl Marx, as exemplified by the present Government of the Soviet Union of Russia. The ideological concepts of communism, like those of nazism, are also incompatible with the concepts of our Republic. They are both absolute dictatorships, both are equally objectionable, and both would destroy the rights and liberties of the individual. The threat from the left still remains.

During the crucial 2 years of the Seventy-ninth Congress, with which this report deals, we witnessed the military defeat of the "totalitarian right" but we also witnessed a world-wide onslaught from the "totalitarian left." Most of Europe has succumbed to it—England is en route. Today the United States stands as the main bulwark against this onslaught. It is this challenge from the left that the people of the United States must meet, for already deep inroads have been made by these forces of communism.

In order to meet this challenge, the people must understand the character and nature of communism. Communism is a world-wide movement. It seeks to regiment the people of the world under proletarian dictatorship directed from Moscow. The Communist Party of the United States is an outpost in this country for the Kremlin. It is just as subservient to the Soviet Union as are the Communist parties of France, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and other Soviet satellite nations. The members of the Communist Party of the United States admit they owe their first allegiance to the Soviet Union. They are the agents of a foreign government working for the overthrow and

destruction—by any means—of the Government of the United States. Since its inception in 1920, to the present day, it has endeavored with foreign direction, to bring this about. The committee regrets to state that this endeavor has not been in vain. They are well organized and their power and influence far exceeds their numerical strength. Through their infiltration technique they have succeeded in entrenching themselves in government, labor, and education. They gnaw at the institutions that make up our democratic system. In the opinion of the committee, the most serious penetration has been within the labor movement, where the Communists dominate and control a number of unions of the CIO—unions so vital that our very national security is dependent upon them. Today Communist-controlled unions can tie up the Panama Canal Zone, New York City, paralyze our entire shipping and commerce, and stop production in vital industries that produce arms and equipment for our armed forces. It is a tragic spectacle—one that labor should set about immediately to remedy by purging itself of this Communist leadership.

This committee cannot emphasize too strongly to the House and to the country the danger from this “fifth column” within our gates which follows with blind obedience the dictates of Moscow. They must be recognized for what they are—the agents of a foreign government and enemies of our American system.

Real democracy as our American fathers knew it was a rule of personal conduct; it has never worked as a national form of government.

We have in this country a republic run by democratic representatives. What more can we ask?

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES AND PROPAGANDA

SECTION I

STATEMENT OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In the opinion of your committee, one of the most significant and informative statements ever made on the extent and objectives of subversive activities within the United States, was the now famous speech which J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, made before the national convention of the American Legion in San Francisco, Calif., on September 30 of this year. This courageous and candid analysis of the growing threat of communism in the United States has aided greatly in the important task of alerting well-meaning, but sometimes too complacent, Americans to the vicious features of totalitarianism in any form and to the alarming fact that during the past 5 years communism has made self-serving use of wartime conditions to extend its influence in this Republic to an unprecedented degree. Infiltration of Communists and their equally unwholesome fellow travelers who advance the party line into important positions on the Federal pay roll has been one of the most vitiating manifestations of this expanding communistic program.

J. Edgar Hoover served a public purpose in his speech to the American Legion convention by spotlighting and demonstrating the fact that communism and fascism are both manifestations of the same dictatorial concept. For many years American Communists have endeavored to dupe gullible people and to masquerade their totalitarian objectives as "liberal" or "progressive," whereas, in fact and in practice, the procedures of communism, wherever they have ever dominated the government of any country, are virtually identical with the procedures of fascism. As J. Edgar Hoover points out in his unchallenged and unchallengeable discussion of fascism and communism:

In fact, they differ little except in name. Communism has bred fascism and fascism spawns communism. Both are the antithesis of American belief in liberty and freedom. If the peoples of other countries want communism, let them have it, but it has no place in America.

Patriotic Americans can aid greatly in the control and curtailment of communism, both in and out of government, by familiarizing themselves and their organizations with the identities of purpose and practice which are demonstrable wherever either fascism or communism has been practiced. Communism appears to be the "mother

lude" from which such equally obnoxious and objectionable creeds as fascism and nazism have stemmed. J. Edgar Hoover puts it clearly and candidly when he says "Communism has bred fascism."

One of the most frequently utilized camouflages employed by Communists and their closely associated and completely dominated (albeit sometimes unwitting) fellow travelers, is the "party line" attempt to label all anti-Communists as "Fascists" and to dignify their own subversive program by trying to make it appear to be "anti-Fascist." Actually, as Mr. Hoover points out, the procedures which prevail in communism also prevail in fascism, and vice versa. Frantic efforts by Communists to cloak their un-Americanism behind a thin veneer of deceptive respectability by mouthing protestations against fascism while employing identical and equally repugnant concepts of dictatorial statism should mislead and confuse only the most gullible and ill informed. In reality, the two totalitarian creeds have demonstrated themselves to be equally degrading, inhuman, coercive, and unconscionable. To use the pretended opposition to either of them to advance the program of the other, should be a warning signal to good Americans that unless both isms are equally abhorred and attacked the instigators of such critical crusades are subject to suspect and their appeals should be avoided.

Because of its prodigious importance, the entire address of J. Edgar Hoover before the American Legion convention of 1946 is hereinafter reprinted in full. Your committee believes that educators and religious leaders throughout the country would do well to make it available to the youth of the land; it merits careful study by all future citizens, as well as by our adult population; where the emphasis is properly placed on the protection, the preservation, and the promotion of our American way of life.

REMARKS OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., SEPTEMBER 30, 1946

I accept the distinguished service medal of the American Legion on behalf of my associates in the Federal Bureau of Investigation who have made its achievements possible. Bulwarking the men and women of the FBI are the high hopes and expectations of the loyal Americans whom we serve. The American Legion is a great force for good in this Nation. It exemplifies the traditions of our country and is living testimony to the spirit of America. I am happy to be here today to thank you of the American Legion for the great aid and assistance you have rendered the FBI over the years.

The record of your achievements is now history. Today, there is a greater need than ever before for the American Legion and its stabilizing force. We of the FBI need your help now even more than during the war years if the battle for a safe and secure America is to be won. Our enemies are massing their forces on two main fronts. One is the criminal front. Crime is increasing daily; juvenile delinquency is shocking; lawlessness is rampant. We are nearer to the days of gang control than we were a year after World War I. Add to the forces that account for a serious crime every 20 seconds, day and night, the other encroaching enemy of America and we have a formidable foe. I refer to the growing menace of communism in the United States.

During the past 5 years, American Communists have made their deepest inroads upon our national life. In our vaunted tolerance for all peoples the Communist has found our "Achilles' heel." The American Legion represents a force which holds within its power the ability to expose the hypocrisy and ruthlessness of this foreign ism which has crept into our national life—an ism built and supported by dishonor, deceit, tyranny, and a deliberate policy of falsehood.

It is a matter of self-preservation. The veteran who fought for America will be among the first to suffer if the Communists succeed in carrying out their diabolical plots to wreck the American way of life. The "divide and conquer" tactics did not die with Hitler—they are being employed with greater skill today by American Communists with their "boring from within" strategy. Their propaganda, skillfully designed and adroitly executed, has been projected into practically every phase of our national life. The fact that the Communist Party in the United States claims some 100,000 members has lulled many Americans into a feeling of false complacency. I would not be concerned if we were dealing with only 100,000 Communists. The Communists themselves boast that for every party member there are 10 others ready to do the party's work. These include their satellites, their fellow travelers and their so-called progressive and phony liberal allies. They have maneuvered themselves into positions where a few Communists control the destinies of hundreds who are either willing to be led or have been duped into obeying the dictates of others.

The average American workingman is loyal, patriotic, and law abiding. He wants security for his family and himself. But in some unions the rank and file find themselves between a Communist pincers, manipulated by a few leaders who have hoodwinked and browbeaten them into a state of submission. Communist labor leaders have sparred for time in their labor deliberations to refer matters of policy to Communist Party headquarters for clearance. In fact, resolutions have been delayed pending such approval and contemplated strikes have been postponed until adequate Communist support and backing were available.

The Communist influence has projected itself into some newspapers, magazines, books, radio, and the screen. Some churches, schools, colleges, and even fraternal orders have been penetrated, not with the approval of the rank and file but in spite of them. I have been pleased to observe that the Communist attempts to penetrate the American Legion have met with failure. Eternal vigilance will continue to keep your ranks free of shift, double-crossing Communist destructionists.

We are rapidly reaching the time when loyal Americans must be willing to stand up and be counted. The American Communist Party, despite its claims, is not truly a political party. The Communist Party in this country is not working for the general welfare of all our people—it is working against our people. It is not interested in providing for the common defense. It has for its purpose the shackling of America and its conversion to the godless, Communist way of life. If it were a political party its adherents could be appealed to by reason. Instead, it is a system of intrigue, actuated by fanaticism. It knows no rules of decency. Its unprincipled converts would sell America short if it would help their cause of furthering an alien way of life conceived in darkness and motivated by greed for power whose ultimate aim is the destruction of our cherished freedom. Let us no longer be misled by their sly propaganda and false preachments on civil liberty. They want civil license to do as they please and, if they get control, liberty for Americans will be but a haunted memory. For those who seek to provoke prejudice and stir up the public mind to angry resentment against our form of government are a menace to the very powers of law and order which guarantee and safeguard popular rights.

We, of this generation, have faced two great menaces in America—fascism and communism. Both are materialistic; both are totalitarian; both are antireligious; both are degrading and inhuman. In fact, they differ little except in name. Communism has bred fascism and fascism spawns communism. Both are the antithesis of American belief in liberty and freedom. If the peoples of other countries want communism, let them have it, but it has no place in America.

The Hitler, Tojo, and Mussolini brands of fascism were met and defeated on the battlefield. All those who stand for the American way of life must arise and defeat red fascism in America by focusing upon it the spotlight of public opinion and by building up barriers of common decency through which it cannot penetrate.

Such a crusade cannot be spearheaded by any force more potent than the American Legion, composed as it is of America's heroes who have proved their mettle in battle. The men and women who defeated the Nazi brand of fascism with bullets can defeat the Red brand of fascism by raising their voices in behalf of democracy and by exposure and denunciation of every force which weakens America.

The American Legion, ordained to bring together the veterans of World War I to perpetuate the associations made on foreign soil, is being expanded by the influx of veterans of World War II, who likewise fought that America might

live. To allow America to become infected with the malignant growth of communism or to be infested by crime is a breach of our trust to those who gave their lives for American principles.

Let us gird ourselves with the determination that those basic freedoms and spiritual ideals for which so many have sacrificed so much shall not be destroyed from within.

Let us be steadfast for America, work and live for America, and eternally be on guard to defend our Constitution and our way of life against the virulent poison of communistic ideology.

SECTION II

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The head of the Communist Party, William Z. Foster, testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities recently, admitted on oath the following statement—listen to this—here is what he said:

No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could, even if he would, become President of the present Government. When a Communist heads a government of the United States (and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises), that government will not be a capitalistic government, but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In sworn testimony in 1930, William Z. Foster said "the workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the Red Flag. That is the flag of the proletarian revolution." He also said, "the workers, the revolutionary workers, in all the capitalist countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments, and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of Soviet governments." Foster also says that the aims of the Communist Party in the United States are the same as those of Communists in Russia and Germany.

SECTION III

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist Parties of the world are ruled by what is known as the Communist International, or as it is sometimes referred to, the Comintern. Generally speaking, the Comintern is a headquarters staff controlling Communist Parties in other countries in various aspects, including political policy. The Comintern is also known to have directed the espionage activities of Russian agents in many countries of the world. According to testimony of record the Comintern headquarters in Moscow, Russia, maintains a record of every active Communist in the world.

The American Communist Party during the 26 years of its existence has never deviated from the policies laid down by those who direct the Comintern in Moscow. Documentary evidence in possession of the committee establishes this fact.

We may imagine that a legitimate independent American Communist Party could exist in the United States. The United States today is one of the very few countries that still permits its citizens

to express political views as they choose. This committee wholeheartedly endorses the right of every American citizen to speak his mind. But this endorsement does not extend to those who would betray this Government and the people that our Government represents. The American Communist Party is an agent of a foreign power which has dedicated itself to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, or through any other means it deems expedient for that avowed purpose. Numerous court decisions on this point sustain the charge that the Communist Party of the United States advocates the overthrow of this Government by force and violence. Documentary evidence to this effect is also available.

The charge that the Communist Party of the United States is an agent of a foreign power, Soviet Russia, is easily sustained, and we will cite a few pertinent facts. The chain of evidence on this point need only extend from the days of the Hitler-Stalin pact to the present date. However, even prior to that time the Communist Party of the United States has never deviated from the policies laid down by the Comintern in Soviet Russia. During the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact the Communist Party of the United States followed to the letter every instruction issued by the Communist masters in Soviet Russia. As soon as Russia was attacked by Germany, the Communist Party of the United States again followed the dictates of Moscow. During the year 1943, when Russia was hard-pressed by the Germans on the eastern front the Russians feared that the United States might shut off lend-lease aid to them and equip our own troops with the supplies that had been going to Russia. Also it was feared that the United States having driven the Germans out of Africa would refrain from opening a second front in Europe, which would, of course, relieve the pressure on the Russians.

In order to insure the continuance of lend-lease aid and secure sympathy for the opening of a second front in Europe, Joseph Stalin announced from Moscow, Russia, on May 15 and June 10, 1943, that the Communist International or the Comintern was being dissolved. History has shown that the reasons expounded by Stalin for the supposed dissolution of the Comintern were utterly false and that the Comintern has not been dissolved. The real reasons for the announced dissolution of the Comintern as stated herein were to insure continuance of lend-lease and to insure that a second front would be opened by the United States against the common enemy, Germany. There may have been some political reasons, also, for Stalin's sudden decision.

After the announcement of the alleged dissolution of the Comintern, the Communist Party of the United States, following the dictates of Stalin, proceeded to dissolve itself. Earl Browder, who was then head of the Communist Party of the United States, took the cue from Stalin and announced that henceforth the Communist Party of the United States would be known as the Communist Political Association, and that the Communist Party of the United States was being dissolved. The Young Communist League of the United States also followed the dictates of the Russian master and dissolved itself into the American Youth for Democracy. Both organizations advocated the opening of a second front immediately and continuance of lend-lease aid to Russia on a greatly increased scale.

Some of the most important evidence concerning the fact that the Communist Party of the United States is controlled by Moscow and that the Communist International or the Comintern was not dissolved has been furnished to the committee by Louis Budenz, formerly a high-ranking Communist and editor of the Communist publication, the Daily Worker.

Budenz, in testimony given before the committee, said, with reference to the control of Communists in the United States by agents of the Comintern, that we must understand that in dealing with communism we are dealing with a conspiracy to establish Soviet dictatorship throughout the world. This conspiracy, asserted Budenz, resorts normally to illegal methods and requires the utmost servility on the part of the so-called leaders throughout the world. With reference to the past and present leadership of the Communist Party of the United States, Earl Browder and William Z. Foster, Budenz said that both these men have served, and continue to serve, as mere puppets in a conspiracy directed against the peace and security of the United States of America.

This report has stated that the American Communist Party has never deviated from the Moscow party line during the 26 years of its existence in the United States. On this point Budenz stated that, "Never throughout its history has the Communist Party of the United States found one defect of any kind in a leader of the Soviet Union who was endorsed by the Kremlin." Secondly, he said, "The Communists in the United States follow the policies of the Kremlin, and an examination of the Communist press will confirm this." He said that the Communist Party of the United States is as much a quisling organization under the heel of the Kremlin as the Nazi bund was under the heel of Hitler's Germany.

With further regard to the matter of the Soviet world dictatorship, Budenz said we have evidence on this point which has been contributed by outstanding leaders of the Soviet Union—for instance, the speech of Molotov in 1928 before the Leningrad functionaries of the Communist Party in which he declared over and over again that "the sole aim of the Communist International is the establishment of world totalitarian dictatorship." Further, Budenz, said that—

In 1935, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International a resolution was adopted in which the leadership of the Communist Party, including the Communist leadership of the United States, pledged itself to unending, unbending devotion to Stalin as their leader and teacher.

Budenz stated that Earl Browder was one of those present at the time of the adoption of the afore-mentioned resolution.

During his testimony regarding his knowledge of actual contact between agents of the Communist International and officials of the American Communist Party, Budenz stated that one Gerhard Eisler, alias Hans Berger, had acted as a contact man in the United States for the Communist International and the officials of the American Communist Party. He said that Eisler, alias Berger, had previously functioned as a Communist emissary in Spain and China, as well as in Germany. Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, according to Budenz, was one of the American Communists who knew of Eisler's official connection with the Communist International, and in this connection Budenz testified that

Eugene Dennis told him that he would occasionally receive instructions from Hans Berger, who was a responsible comrade and a technical representative of the Communist International. Dennis told Budenz that he was to treat Berger as a "technical representative of the Communist International." Budenz later in his testimony related the manner in which the Communist Party of the United States took instructions from Eisler, alias Berger, which were contained in several magazine articles which Eisler wrote under the name of Berger in Communist publications. One of the articles which Budenz referred to as having been written by Eisler, alias Berger, appeared in the publication called the Communist, in November 1943, which was an organ of the Communist Party of the United States. This publication is now called Political Affairs.

In the article mentioned, Eisler, alias Berger, discussed the dissolution of the Communist International. Budenz said that the article was written in the theoretical and ideological language which the Communists employ in issuing instructions to their comrades. The article, Budenz testified, was written to bring home the point to the American Communists that "international communism still lives even though the Communist International has been dissolved." Budenz stated that responsible Communists throughout the United States and elsewhere are well familiar with the Berger article and that their slogan is:

The Communist International is not dead, and our association with the great fatherland of workers, the Soviet Union, is not dead.

The recent happenings in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, and other European countries should plainly show that international communism is not dead and that the Communist leaders in those countries of Europe are plainly following the dictates of the director of international communism in Moscow, Russia.

Budenz pointed to additional evidence of the extent of foreign control of the Communist Party of the United States during his testimony before the committee and some additional evidence furnished by him will be mentioned later in this report. But at this point it is necessary to digress and turn to a discussion of one of the most salient features of the accumulated evidence concerning the manner in which the Communist Party of the United States is subjected to foreign control.

The American public will recall that during the Second World War Earl Browder was the head of the Communist Party of the United States. It must also be recalled that it was Browder who dissolved the Communist Party of the United States after Josef Stalin announced from Moscow that the Communist International had been dissolved. Shortly after the end of the Second World War and in August 1945 the Communist Party of the United States, which, since the supposed dissolution of the Communist International, had been known as the Communist Political Association, ousted Earl Browder from the leadership of the American Communists. Not only was Browder ousted, but the name he had given to the Communist Party during the wartime years, the Communist Political Association, was eliminated along with him. The Communist Political Association and Earl Browder, its founder, had served their purpose, so at the August 1945 convention of the American Communists, William Z.

Foster was installed as the head of the Communist Party of the United States to replace Earl Browder.

This change in leadership and name by the American Communists was not their own doing, however. The instructions for the change came from another country, and a European country at that, France. Instruction for the change was published in the official organ of the Communist Party of France in April 1945. The instruction for the change was also published in a document which is now referred to as the Duclos letter. This letter of instruction was written by Jacques Duclos, formerly a member of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International, and presently secretary of the French Communist Party.

The Duclos letter criticized Earl Browder for dissolving the Communist Party of the United States and forming the Communist Political Association. Although, it should be recalled, that this action was taken by Browder upon instructions from Moscow at the time of the supposed dissolution of the Communist International.

The Duclos letter also scored Browder for his interpretation of the Tehran Conference, and his interpretation of Marxist theory. Also the letter states that Browder "lost sight of several of the most fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The Duclos letter is too lengthy to include herein, but it is deemed expedient and important to include the conclusions reached by Duclos in the letter concerning Browder's leadership of the American Communists. The conclusions reached by Duclos are as follows:

1. The course followed under Browder's leadership has resulted, in practice, in the liquidation of the Independent Political Party of the Working Class in the United States;

2. In spite of the declaration concerning recognition of Marxist principles, we are witnessing a manifest reconsideration of Marxism by Browder and his partisans, a reconsideration expressed through the conception of lengthy peace between classes in the United States, through the possibility to suppress class warfare in the postwar period, and through the establishment of harmony between labor and capital;

3. By transforming the Tehran declaration of the Allied Governments, which is a document of a diplomatic nature, into a political platform for class peace in the United States in the postwar period, the American Communists are radically disfiguring the meaning of the Tehran declaration and are spreading dangerous opportunist illusions, which will have a negative influence on the American labor movement, unless they are properly countermanded.

4. From what is known at present, the Communist parties in most countries have not approved Browder's position and several Communist parties (for instance, the South African and Australian parties) have openly declared themselves against this position, while the Communist parties of several South American countries (Cuba, Colombia) consider the position of the American Communists as a just one; in general, are following the same line.

Such are the facts. Such are the elements which permit us to judge the dissolution of the American Communist Party. The French Communists will not fail to sift, along Marxist-Leninist lines, the arguments developed to justify the dissolution of the American Communist Party. We can be sure that, like the Communists of the Union of South Africa and those of Australia, the French Communists will not approve the policy followed by Browder, for it is spreading dangerously far from the victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, whose rigidly scientific application could only lead to one conclusion—not to dissolve the American Communist Party, but to work to strengthen it under the slogan of a redoubled struggle to crush Hitlerite Germany and everywhere destroy the tentacles of fascism.

These conclusions, aside from the fact that they clearly called for Browder's removal as head of the American Communists, contain words

of warning concerning the plans of the Communists in the postwar world. It is clearly stated that class warfare is a part of Communist doctrine as well as strife between labor and capital.

One other consideration which must be attached to the Duclos letter is very important. The letter, which led to Earl Browder's ouster as head of the American Communists and his replacement by William Z. Foster, contains some extracts from a letter written by William Z. Foster which criticized Earl Browder and his administration of the affairs of the American Communists. The extracts from the Foster letter mentioned in the Duclos communication are commented upon favorably. Hence Duclos criticizes Browder and praises Foster and subsequently Browder is replaced by Foster as head of the American Communists. It becomes quite obvious then that the letter written by Duclos in what Louis Budenz describes as "communistic ideological language," contained instructions to the American Communists to replace Browder with Foster and to drop the names "Communist Political Association" which Browder gave to the American Communists and readopt the name "Communist Party of the United States."

The testimony of Louis Budenz before the committee throws further light upon the Duclos-Foster-Browder debacle. In his testimony Budenz examined the Duclos letters from all angles in the light of his experience as a former leading member of the Communist Party of the United States. Mr. Budenz said:

The Soviet Government has now revealed, through my experience in discussions with the Communist Party, the fact that it is engaged in a war of nerves with the United States which could go to the point of military conflict or at any rate a war of nerves designed to undermine the Government of the United States.

He said:

We will take, for example, the Duclos article which deposed Mr. Browder. That article states very definitely that the Tehran Pact is only a diplomatic gesture. What is the Tehran Pact? It was an agreement between Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt that there would be generations of peace. This is only a diplomatic gesture. The Soviet Union, through Mr. Duclos, takes the initiative in stating that it is only a diplomatic gesture. It is certainly understood by every trained Communist leader that if the Tehran Pact is to be torn up as a diplomatic gesture, it will mean that the era of peace seeking is over.

Secondly, Earl Browder was deposed as a revisionist for standing on the platform at Tehran and assuming that the pact was something that was going to last for quite a period of years. For that he was declared a revisionist, which incidentally is as great a crime on the right as being a Trotskyite on the left. If you were a revisionist, you are an enemy of the Soviet Union, the working class in the Communist Party; and Mr. Browder, who had been one of the most servile agents of Moscow, its wills, whims, and wishes, was suspended and suddenly confronted with that accusation. Of course, we can see immediately that when Mr. Browder was confronted with the accusation it gave notice to every Communist leader throughout the world that the relations with the United States had changed.

From this it becomes obvious that the Duclos letter contained instructions to every Communist leader in the world on the feeling of the Soviet Union toward the Tehran Pact and future relations with the United States. It also becomes obvious that Duclos received his instructions from a higher source than himself, presumably through Thorez, the French Communist political leader, who had just shortly before the Duclos letter was written, returned to Paris after a visit to Moscow. Since Stalin had announced the dissolution of the Communist International, he could not make any announcement against

Browder because it would show that the Comintern controlled the Communist Party of the United States. The machinations of the Moscow-directed move to oust Browder and to change Comintern instructions regarding Soviet relations with the United States were therefore left to Duclos.

With further reference to the Duclos letter it should be recalled by the reader at this point that the Duclos letter mentioned a document written by William Z. Foster. With reference to this document, Mr. Budenz testified that it was written in 1944 and was addressed to the national committee of the Communist Political Association. The letter was critical of Earl Browder. Mr. Budenz said that because of this it was voted down and suppressed by the national committee. Budenz further testified that—

not only was the letter suppressed, but that no national committee member was allowed to keep the letter, and that not one of the rank and file of the Communist Party knew that it existed.

Budenz said that despite the fact no member of the national committee of the American Communist Party could keep the letter, it found its way across the sea to a foreign Communist, Duclos of France, who could not only keep the letter, "but could study it, quote from it, comment, and commend." This particular incident regarding the Duclos letter further demonstrates the foreign entanglements of the Communist Party of the United States.

Plainly speaking, the entire history of the so-called Duclos letter provides a chain of evidence that definitely links the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist International and to those who control it. One salient feature that we cannot overlook in tracing the preparation of this letter to those Europeans who control the Communist Party of the United States is the interpretation placed upon the letter by Earl Browder himself. He said in introducing the letter to the readers of the Daily Worker that, "This undoubtedly represents the opinion of all the leading European Marxists."

Louis Budenz, in his testimony before the committee, stressed the importance of this statement by Browder and said that it is of great significance in the determination of the extent of foreign control of the Communist Party of the United States. On this point he testified as follows:

I will call your attention, gentlemen, to Mr. Browder's statement on this letter, and this is very significant. In introducing this letter to the readers of the Daily Worker, and I note this particularly as managing editor, Mr. Browder said: "This undoubtedly represents the opinion of all the leading European Marxists." Just appreciate the significance of that, by some stroke of genius Earl Browder knows that all the leading European Marxists think him to be a criminal against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, and the working class. Those phrases go together. He knows that and I ask you, How could he know it without a close organizational international communication?

Later, when testifying on the same point, Budenz said to the committee:

I want to ask you, Who is the leading European Marxist? We know from the resolution of 1935 that the teacher and the leader is Joseph Stalin, and by this little phrase Browder was able to acquaint every trained Communist—certainly he acquainted me, and I think everyone else—with the fact that this was approved, this was the voice of authority, and I want to tell you that the national committee used it as the voice of authority. Here was Browder, who had been cheered for half an hour every time he appeared at a secret national

committee meeting. In fact, it is testified to in print; it was said that there was overadulation of Browder, and, lo and behold, at the first national committee meeting in June 1945 when he appeared only 3 of the 80 present would speak to him. We will agree that it is a very powerful article that Duclos wrote. The reason that I bring this before you is to show in a vivid bird's-eye way the subserviency of the Communist leadership to decisions that accord with the wishes, whims, and will of Moscow.

Later in his testimony, Budenz, when asked to indicate the tie-up between Jacques Duclos and the Russian Communists, replied as follows:

Jacques Duclos is the general secretary of the French Communist Party. Stalin was the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and is still its leader. They were all members of the Communist International until the Communist International was dissolved. Mr. Browder made the tie-up when he said: "Undoubtedly, this is the opinion of all leading European Marxists." Anyone who is a trained Communist, and certainly almost anyone else, appreciates the fact that if this is the opinion of European Marxists, it must be the opinion of Stalin as the leading European Marxist; not only the leading Russian Marxist, but the leading Marxist of the world, as he has been proclaimed in various resolutions passed by the Communist International.

Budenz said that the basic lesson that should be taught the American public by the Duclos incident is the fact—

that here is an organization (the Communist Party of the United States) in America that judges all Americans according to their degree of subserviency to the Soviet Union. A leader in America is applauded in proportion to the manner in which he agrees with the particular will of Moscow at the time, and the record proves it. This is not something drawn from any oral discussion; this is the record which a study of the Communist press will show.

The American public should heed the warning given by Budenz that American Communists are tools of a world Communist conspiracy. For here in the written record is valuable evidence given by a former high-ranking Communist that the Communist Party of the United States is an agent of a foreign power.

The testimony of Mr. Budenz on this point is supported by other testimony of record and documentary evidence which the Committee on Un-American Activities has gathered during the course of its existence. The American Communist Party can make no more than a superficial claim that it is a "political party" in the sense in which the American people understand those words. It is, on the contrary, a constituent member of the Communist International, which still exists, and is its agent in the United States. The Communist International in turn is completely dominated by the Communist Party of Soviet Russia.

The committee feels that a careful examination of the facts justifies the assertion that the Communist Party of the United States is a foreign-inspired conspiracy masked as a political party. The evidence on this point is extensive; for example, we have the following:

- (1) Admissions drawn from the present leaders of the party, including Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, and others.

- (2) Testimony of former leaders of the party who had themselves engaged in all the operations of this international conspiracy, including Ben Gitlow, Jay Lovestone, and Joseph Zack.

- (3) Testimony of Louis Budenz, a former Peoples Front Communist and editor of the Daily Worker.

(4) Examination and analysis of the History of the Comintern, of which the Communist Party of the United States is a part. The evidence reflects that the Communist International directs the activities of every allied unit including the Communist Party of the United States.

(5) The official literature and publications of the Communist Party and of the Comintern (the Communist International).

(6) The admissions of the present leaders of the Communist Party of the United States that they look upon the Red flag as their flag and the Soviet Union as their fatherland.

(7) Admissions of the present leaders of the party in the United States that the Soviet Communist Party is the model party followed by all other Communist Parties.

(8) Admissions of past leaders of the Communist Party of the United States that the party actually had representatives in Moscow, Russia, who maintained interlocking relationships with the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R.

(9) Testimony of Louis Budenz and others to the effect that Moscow representatives as well as agents of the Communist International have been sent to the United States armed with complete authority to direct the affairs of the Communist Party of the United States.

(10) Evidence that for many years the Russian Government maintained in Moscow a school for the training of leaders of foreign Communist Parties. Scores of the leaders of the American Communist Party, such as Clarence Hathaway, have passed through this school, and some of its graduates have been among the committee's witnesses, such as William Nowell. The training which these leaders have received in Moscow has included preparation for eventual uprisings and civil war in the United States.

(11) Visits of American Communist Party leaders to Moscow, Russia. For instance, when Earl Browder was deposed as the leader of the Communist Party of the United States he made the statement that "I intend to appeal the decision of the National Convention (which deposed him) to the International Body." Browder as everyone knows recently visited the Soviet Union and secured a contract to distribute Soviet literature in the United States.

(12) Evidence that the Soviet Union subsidize the Communist Party press in the United States.

(13) Evidence that the Communist Party of the United States and numerous front organizations support the foreign policy of Soviet Russia.

(14) Evidence that the Communist Party of the United States and numerous front organizations support the diplomatic pacts entered into by Soviet Russia, such as the Hitler-Stalin pact.

(15) Evidence that the Communist Party of the United States followed instructions issued by a French Communist to depose Earl Browder as head of the Communist Party of the United States.

These are numerous other points of evidence that demonstrate the manner in which the Communist Party of the United States is controlled by the Communist International from Moscow, Russia.

It might also be stated that during the investigation conducted by the Royal Commission of the Canadian Government concerning the use of Soviet diplomatic personnel for espionage purposes it was brought out that the Communist International still exists and that it has been used for espionage purposes by the Soviet Union. Testimony on this point was given by one Igor Gouzenko, who had been a civilian employee of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa, Canada, from June 1943 to September 1945. Prior to his affiliation with the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa, Gouzenko had worked in what was described as the "centre" of the Director in Moscow of the Military Intelligence Organization. He testified that while working in the "centre" he had enciphered and deciphered telegrams to and from many other countries disclosing the use of local Communist parties for espionage purposes as a part of a network of Soviet espionage activity. While engaged by the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, Gouzenko became very familiar with the activities of the leader of the Communist Party of Canada, one Sam Carr, who was referred to as "Frank" in some code communications passing through the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa to the Director of Espionage in Moscow, Russia. Gouzenko in his testimony related the manner in which the Soviet Embassy used Sam Carr, alias Frank, to help obtain a fraudulent passport for a Soviet agent operating in the United States, in the State of California, with false identification papers. The full details of this incident are too lengthy to include in this report, but the investigation conducted by the Canadian authorities showed clearly that the Communist International still exists and that in this particular incident the Canadian and Russian branches of the Comintern were cooperating in a matter which concerns the safety and security of the United States.

NOTE.—The testimony of Louis Budenz mentioned above has been published in a separate document by the committee and it is recommended that the complete text of Mr. Budenz's testimony be read as a supplement to the data contained in this report (H. Rept. 2233, 79th Cong., 2d sess.).

SECTION IV

OTHER DOCUMENTS ON COMMUNISM

When this committee and its predecessor first came into being there was a deplorable lack of knowledge and concern in this country over the subversive forces seeking to undermine and destroy our American free-enterprise system and our hallowed constitutional liberties. Since May 1938, however, there has slowly but surely been a gratifying rededication on the part of many Americans to the ancient adage that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

In late years, and more especially within the past 2 years, during which your Committee on Un-American Activities has operated as a permanent, standing committee of the United States House of Representatives, there has been an encouraging increase in the number and importance of individuals and organizations who are concerning themselves with the necessity of interesting themselves in the preservation and protection here at home of the American freedoms which all of us now so happily enjoy. Your committee and its predecessor does not, of course, take sole credit for this growing determination

on the part of patriotic Americans to "do something" about the cesspools of fascism and communism which belch forth their poisonous doctrines upon the fair air of this freedom-loving and freedom-practicing country. We do take justifiable pride, however, in the fact that this agency of the great House of Representatives of the United States Congress has permitted neither vilification, highly financed propaganda, organized campaigns of abuse, or careless statements by ill-informed or easily duped writers or speakers to deter us from our determination to explore and expose the subversive forces menacing the security, the dignity, and the traditional freedoms of the United States.

Two unusually important documents on communism have appeared upon the American scene during the past 6 months. We recommend their intensive study and careful reading to all intelligent Americans.

Communism in action.—Under the direction of Ernest S. Griffith, Director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, there was published in July an analytical study of communism entitled "Communism in Action." It is also identified as House Document No. 754 of the second session of the Seventy-ninth Congress and is available from the Government Printing Office in Washington for the nominal charge of 50 cents.

This information and objective analysis and study of communism in action—the first time such a report has ever been made by the objective research staff of the Library of Congress—provides significant information on the relationship of communism to such activities as labor, education, religion, agriculture, and the exercise of personal freedoms.

Your committee believes citizens throughout America and the educators of our country should take steps to have this objective analysis of communism as it actually operates (as distinguished from the theoretical concepts by which it attempts to disguise its practical applications) made available in every school and college of the United States. Teachers, school boards, and school patrons who desire to have the students of their community know the real facts about communism and to make honest comparisons between it and our American system are urged by this committee to include *Communism in Action* as required reading at some point in the curriculum.

Communist infiltration in the United States.—Great credit should be given to the United States Chamber of Commerce for the fact that in 1946 it issued a highly readable and factual treatise on "Communist Infiltration in the United States." This document is available to citizens and educators at the very nominal price of 10 cents per copy and it can be ordered direct from the United States Chamber of Commerce, Washington 6, D. C.

One quotation from this public-serving treatment of communism by the research writers of the United States Chamber of Commerce, serves to high light the importance of this unusual and useful document. In dealing with the Communist creed which, even today, is so little understood by usually well-informed Americans, the chamber of commerce monograph says:

Under communism, the state is the supreme master over the lives of its citizens. In its economic aspect, it is characterized by complete state ownership and control of productive property. In the political field, communism makes no pretense of granting freedom. The Soviet Union and the nations it controls are rigid dicta-

torships. Freedom of speech and assembly are denied. Dissent from government is considered treason, and is punished by all-powerful political police systems. Elections are merely formal, since no choice of candidates is offered. At times, religion is openly persecuted, but under any circumstances tremendous obstacles are placed in its path.

The investigations of your committee attest to the accuracy of the foregoing quotations from the United States Chamber of Commerce document on communism. We have no desire to change the system of government now operating in Soviet Russia nor to impose our American freedoms and our free-enterprise system upon any other country. However, we are equally firm in our determination to resist the attempts of those who would impose upon us a philosophy of government and economics as grossly foreign to our concepts of constitutional liberties as those advocated by Communists.

It should also be noted that American Communists and their foreign associates are always among the first and among the loudest to call upon the protective clauses of the American Constitution to protect them in their nefarious efforts to beguile our citizens into accepting a creed, which if it became dominant, would deny to all people the very protections now employed by Communists to advance their cause.

Our American Communists and their fellow travelers (who sometimes are credulous dupes of more rugged minds and who sometimes are deliberate political saboteurs simply masquerading as patriotic citizens) are quick to draw the mantle of constitutional protection over their dark practices when committees such as ours seek to examine their records, check their membership lists, or determine the strange sources of their seemingly inexhaustible finances, but the straightforward language of the chamber of commerce report quoted in the third foregoing paragraph, should be a stern warning to all Americans, whether laborers, educators, farmers, politicians, businessmen, religious leaders, or in other walks of life; as to what life would be like in America if the subversive and seductive doctrines of the Communist Party should ever unhappily prevail in this great and free Republic.

Local chambers of commerce, individual businessmen, patriotic organizations, fraternal groups, and our churches can render a real public service at slight expense by making available to all students in high schools and colleges and to citizens generally the highly informative treatment on communism now available from the United States Chamber of Commerce. Its sections on "The worship of the state," "The Communist creed," "Communism in practice," "The Comintern," "Soviet expansionism," "Communist fronts," "Inside contacts," and "Destroying the fifth column" are especially thought-provoking and informative. However, the entire treatment covers only 40 pages of large type and is recommended for cover-to-cover study.

The most effective method of curtailing communism here in the United States, is for all organizations, such as labor unions, commercial institutions, schools, Government agencies and college faculties, religious groups, political movements and other activities and groups to take the initiative in purging from their own ranks, the Communists, Fascists, hate mongers, and other subversive elements which, once having gained a foothold, seek to dominate and direct these organizations and activities.

Such groups almost invariably are comprised of men and women, the great bulk of whom are patriotic American citizens, but who frequently find themselves being led by aggressive and articulate minori-

ties within their midst who work their way into such groups for the precise and hidden purpose of weakening their allegiance to American concepts.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is able to detect and apprehend criminal acts of un-Americanism; the House Committee on Un-American Activities is empowered to explore and expose activities by un-American individuals and organizations which, while sometimes being legal, are nonetheless inimical to our American concepts and our American future. However, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the House Committee on Un-American Activities by themselves cannot prevent the growth of un-Americanism in this country. The active cooperation of the American people is necessary.

It is for that reason that we recommend a careful reading of the reports of this committee and the intensive study of the speech by J. Edgar Hoover which is contained herein, the various resolutions passed by veterans' organizations as well as the two factual documents referred to in this section of the report, so that throughout America there can be an active and accelerated attempt by patriotic Americans everywhere to purge the ranks of organizations and activities with which they are in contact from the presence and influences of un-American agents of every type and description.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the Congress create an independent commission with authority to investigate and to order the discharge of any employee or official of the Federal Government whose loyalty to the United States is found to be in doubt.

2. That the Department of State and the Department of Justice be required by law to publicize every 6 months the names and identity of all agents of any foreign governments who are in the United States for either diplomatic, commercial, or other purposes.

3. That the Department of Justice be required by law to establish within the Department a special division devoted to the prosecution of subversive elements now operating in the United States.

4. That the Attorney General be instructed by a proper resolution of the House to report to the House the number of prosecutions instituted under the Voorhis Act and the McCormack Alien Registration Act, and to advise the Congress if new legislation is necessary to insure the security of this country.

5. That legislation should be enacted that would restrict Federal employment to citizens of the United States and that only citizens be permitted to hold office in any labor union subject to Federal laws.

6. That legislation be enacted requiring that all alien Communists and other subversive aliens be promptly deported and that the Immigration Service maintain a stringent screening process to restrain the present influx of aliens into the United States and to determine whether their political background is inimical to the best interests of the United States Government.

7. Legislation should be enacted to restrict the benefits of certain tax-exemption privileges now extended to a number of Communist fronts posing as educational, charitable, and relief organizations.

The following is a quotation from committee Report No. 1996, Union Calendar No. 588, Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, submitted by Chairman John S. Wood, May 10, 1946:

The investigative staff of your committee has conducted an extensive investigation into the various sources of financial aid to organizations engaged in the dissemination of propaganda in the United States. The heart of propaganda activities is, by necessity, sustained with money. Reasonable regulation of tax exemptions and proper enforcement of such regulations would immediately restrain to a large extent the vicious attacks now being made upon our constitutional form of government.

8. That the House request, by proper resolution, a report from the Postmaster General of the United States, setting forth the number of embassies or foreign agencies now enjoying second-class mailing privileges and also specifically identifying such agencies where the respective foreign governments do not accord to our embassies, ministers, and other United States officials, equal mailing privileges in those countries, and that proper legislation be enacted by Congress limiting the use of second-class mailing privileges to such embassies and agencies of those foreign governments which extend reciprocal privileges to officials of the United States Government.

9. That legislation be enacted forbidding the use of the United States mails under second-class mailing privileges to any and all newspapers and periodicals printed in any language other than English, which do not carry a full English translation, in parallel columns next to the foreign-language context.

NOTE.—This particular recommendation is not concurred in by Mr. Thomas, for the reason that he feels it might result in an encroachment on the freedom of the press.

10. That legislation be enacted denying the use of second-class mailing privileges to any groups of persons or organizations engaged in the publication, distribution, or promotion of subversive or un-American propaganda.

11. For many years, various organizations in the United States have permitted membership under an alias or an assumed name, and have even gone so far as to permit concealed or secret membership. It is recommended that the Congress enact legislation designed to prohibit membership in any organization using the United States mails or subject to Federal laws, by persons using an alias or assumed name. Such legislation should also include a provision which would clearly ban concealed or secret memberships in any such organizations as described above. An exemption should be made for properly authorized law-enforcement officers in the conduct of their investigations.

Respectfully submitted,

✓ JOHN S. WOOD, *Chairman*.
J. E. RANKIN.
JOHN R. MURDOCK.
HERBERT C. BONNER.
✓ J. PARNELL THOMAS.
KARL E. MUNDT.
GERALD W. LANDIS.

JANUARY 2, 1947.

The other two members of the committee were unavoidably absent.

ERNIE ADAMSON, *Counsel*.
JOHN W. CARRINGTON, *Clerk*.







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